

## Collage

### WMA day of protest planned

WINNIPEG (CUP)—Twenty-eight Canadian university students' union presidents voiced their support this weekend for a nation-wide day of protest over the implementation of the War Measures Act and subsequent legislation.

In a caucus held in Winnipeg in advance of the annual conference of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), union presidents tabled a resolution disapproving of the federal government's actions and demanding that recent events in Quebec not be used as an excuse to improve further restrictive legislation.

"It is contradictory to argue that it is necessary to destroy democracy in order to save it," the resolution said. "Adequate provisions for dealing with seditious activity and terrorism such as occurred in Quebec," are already in the Criminal Code, the caucus said.

The day of protest is tentatively scheduled for November 13.

In other business, the presidents discussed matters such as student parity on university governing bodies, whether students' unions will have to be re-structured to meet the needs of students, the structure of the AUCC and its failure to be representative of the students.

The concept of a revived national union of students was also considered briefly but was then dropped.

### Referendums invalid-more coming

Students' council was informed Monday night that the cannabis referendum last Wednesday has been ruled invalid by the Discipline, Interpretation and Enforcement Board.

DIE Board, to which council is ultimately responsible, threw the referendum out because of confusing wording. Council has also been told by DIE Board that they were out of order in authorizing money for the War Measures meeting, Monday, Oct. 19.

Council met in closed session to discuss two issues—the dismissal of the general manager of students' union administration, and the yearbook. General Manager Walter Ewasiuk was dismissed by the council executive because of "lack of confidence." His position has not been filled.

A discussion on the yearbook was tabled until next week to allow for an Interfraternity Council proposal to staff and edit the publication.

Plans are being made for a referendum on a voluntary students' union, probably to be held Dec. 2. The referendum, not yet adequately worded, could feasibly see the dismantling of students' union as it now stands. Revenue from the "voluntary" fees could be channelled into undergraduate societies and paying the building debt of SUB.

## From the Last Post to you

editorial note:

The FLQ-Quebec situation is no longer assuming the critical atmosphere it had during the first astonishing week the War Measures Act was invoked. By now the paranoia has died down, people have been released from prison, and assurances have been given that the powers of the Act would not be abused.

The public at large feels secure in the knowledge that the government supposedly did what it had to (and maybe did not like doing it), while some people still feel there was no justification for the Act's implementation and are finding more proof as in-

formation is revealed.

The centre pages of today's Gateway contain an analysis of what recently happened in Quebec. It is the interpretation of a group of people who are closely involved with the situation, the fact of which makes it important as a point of view from those in a position to see.

The information presented may be accepted as absolute fact or considered biased opinion, but is still extremely relevant for evaluating what did occur and why. You don't have to agree with it—merely consider what it says and the implications it attempts to draw.

## Radicalism must be kept out

Universities must limit their enrolment and protect themselves from radicalism masquerading in the guise of academic freedom, Dr. Roger Gaudry, president of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, said in Winnipeg yesterday.

Speaking at the opening plenary of the annual AUCC convention, Gaudry said higher standards must be applied to university enrolment and greater emphasis must be placed on languages and mathematics.

There is a developing conflict between traditional academic freedoms and radical activities on Canadian campuses, he said. Universities must find ways of protecting themselves and must formulate a code of ethics to govern the political activities of faculty.

Gaudry called for co-operation between university and industry in the development of Canada, particularly in the north.

The AUCC also presented a brief to provincial and federal governments outlining predictions on education costs. The 95-page brief said education costs will triple in the next seven years.

"We are not trying to frighten anyone, but to be honest about the size of the cost," said Dr. J. J. Deutsch, a director of the association and principal of Queen's University.

He said the association feels a joint study should be undertaken by provincial and federal governments and the institutions involved, to examine financial and social aspects of the problem.

It is the first time the association has made such an approach to the government.

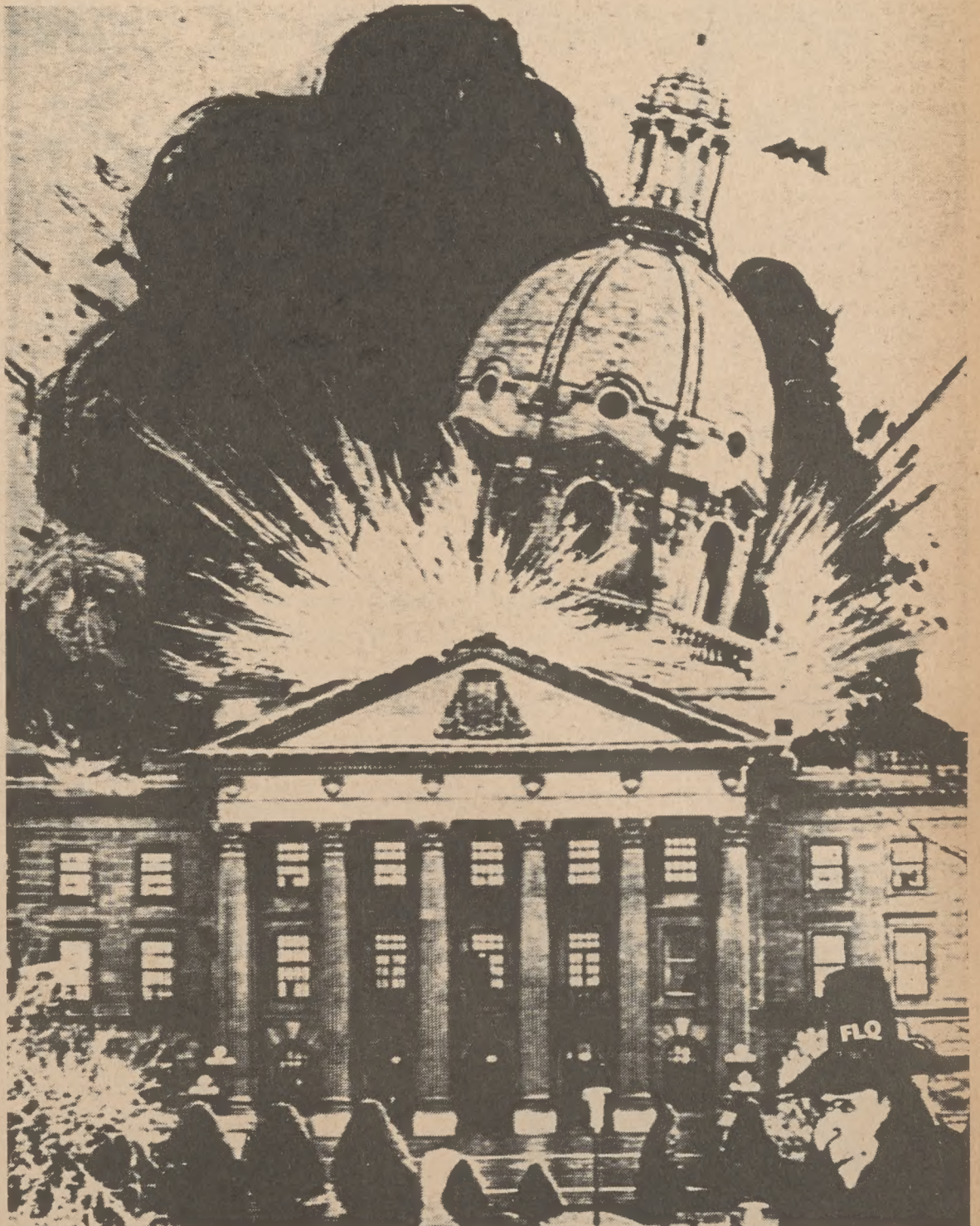
Earlier this week student presidents' caucused to draft resolutions for presentation at the AUCC plenary.

They called for a student-directed research program and an end to AUCC intervention in the affairs of individual universities.

Among the priorities of such a program would be a study of student aid and accessibility, employment, and hiring and teaching criteria for faculty.

The student caucus has been watched closely by the administration members of AUCC, since the association's board of directors is now open to students.

Despite the fact that the AUCC claims to represent all members of the university community and every student pays a fee to it, there are 49 student delegates out of a total of 242.



**INFAMOUS FLQ BOMBER** Pierre La Boom Boom, having escaped the Quebec Police dragnet with the aid of toenail clippers, celebrated Guy Fawkes Day in his own inimitable fashion early this morning. He stated that this is another instance of a right-thinking Quebec nationalist out-doing a "faggot" Anglo at his own game.



# An Open Letter to Mining Engineering Students

**AMAX** AMERICAN METAL CLIMAX, INC.  
1270 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

R. C. SONNEMANN  
VICE PRESIDENT

Dear Mining Major:

We'd like you to become as interested in us as we are in you. We figure that -- if we can tell you enough about who we are and what we stand for -- you might want to face tomorrow's challenges with us.

The coupon below will get you a kit containing our annual report, plus other facts about us, from both inside and outside sources. Throughout the year you will receive additional mailings to keep you up to date on what AMAX is doing and where we are going.

AMAX is the world's leading producer and marketer of molybdenum and the second biggest domestic producer of tungsten. In aluminum we're the fourth largest integrated U. S. supplier, even though we didn't get into the field until 1962. And in 1969 we became a producer of iron ore and coal. We also contribute significantly to the U.S. production of mined or refined copper, lead, zinc, cadmium, zirconium, hafnium, silver, gold, platinum, palladium, iridium, rhodium, ruthenium, selenium, and tellurium.

And we don't plan to stop there.

We're growing ... but not at the expense of the communities, world, or environment in which we live. AMAX takes every bit as much pride in our accomplishments in conservation and environmental planning as in our record of profitable growth.

Let us put you on our special mailing list. Watch us do business for a year. With all of the career directions available at AMAX, you may well find we have many mutual interests.

Fill out the coupon and get a fill-in on tomorrow ... today.

Sincerely yours,

*R. C. Sonnemann*  
R. C. Sonnemann  
Vice President

Personnel Director  
AMERICAN METAL CLIMAX, Inc.  
1270 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, N.Y. 10020

Please send me AMAX Kit "Economic Growth and Quality of Life."

I am attending \_\_\_\_\_ College, and will graduate \_\_\_\_\_ (date)

I am majoring in \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Economic  
Growth &  
Quality  
of Life**

## ELECTION NOTICE

**ED. REPS  
(2)**

Nomination Forms  
Available at the  
Receptionist's Desk  
2nd floor, SUB  
Closing date  
for Nominations  
Nov. 6, 1970  
Election to be held  
Nov. 13, 1970  
**R. THAKUR**  
Returning Officer

**ED. REPS  
(2)**

## UN - Classified

**SOME STUDENTS KNOW** of our low auto insurance rates, do you? Ph. 432-7487 or 429-6071. Open 9:00 am to 9:00 p.m.

**GETTING ENGAGED?** Save 20-30% on diamond rings. Satisfaction guaranteed. Ph. 488-8444 or 439-0423 (evenings).

**TYPING PROBLEMS?** Professional typists are waiting to help you at Alberta Kopy King. Ph. 488-7787.

**TV RENTAL** — Rental purchase plan available. Custom TV, 10134 - 79 St. Ph. 469-8414, evenings 476-5754 or 476-5404.

## STUDENTS' ? HELP

Ph. 432-4358 4-12 p.m.

**GIRLS, STUDENT COUPLES** — Photo student will take your children's color portrait anywhere. You pay only 10¢ cost, \$18.50 for 12 enlargements, 5¢ share with second party—o.k. Ph. 432-8590 after 6 p.m.

**WE ADVISE** on personal or academic problems, if we can't help you, we'll find someone who can. Completely confidential—no names—no pressure—just help and concern. Ph. 432-4358 4-12 nightly. **STUDENTS' HELP.**

1956 **MORRIS OXFORD** excellent motor, needs body work, priced for quick sale. Ph. Allan 434-7183.

**ACCURATE TYPING GUARANTEED** electric typewriter, carbon ribbon, speedy results. Ph. 434-6961 anytime.

**DO YOU QUALIFY** for a lower auto insurance rate? Check it out! Call 475-4192.

**PEOPLE WANTED**—Large communal house, Semi-rural—25 minutes from university. Those interested in radical politics welcome. Rent—what you can afford. 484-8780—evenings, weekends.

- 3 day deadline
  - 7c per word
  - payable before insertion
  - minimum \$1.05 per insertion
  - for further info ...
- CALL 432-4241

Sponsored by the Students' Union

Friday, Nov. 6

3:00 to 7:00 p.m.

Dinwoodie Lounge

Live entertainment

Proof of age must be  
presented at the door

# Friday

# Afternoon

# Social



*These pages are written in Montreal in the midst of a whirlpool of events whose final solution one can only begin to glimpse. This is not an explanation of the grievances of Quebec—that must come later, and some even think it's already too late for that, years too late.*

*This special preliminary report has been prepared by the staff of Last Post magazine, working with journalists in Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec City, whose examination of events, and their treatment in the English press outside Quebec, has given them the profound conviction that too much has not been told, and too many questions have failed to be raised in the explosion of events.*

*It is our aim—those at the Last Post and those of us in the papers and broadcast media who have joined the Last Post in this effort—to raise questions about the motives of men in power in the cataclysmic days of October, perhaps not to answer many of them, but to begin the urgently needed examination of what some have already begun to call:*

## The Santo Domingo of Pierre Elliott Trudeau

In the peak of the hysteria about “apprehended insurrections”, “coups”, and “armed uprisings” that was being cried from Ottawa, one reporter remarked, in the wry wit that sometimes comes out of frightening events, that “This is the first time in this country we’ve had a counter-revolution before having had a revolution.”

The remark won’t stand in stead of cold analysis, but it has a grain of truth in it, and at least it underscores some of the unreality of the events that exploded on the cool morning of Monday, October 5.

It had been a singularly quiet year in Montreal, which has been accustomed over the last few years to rushing mass demonstrations in the streets, gunfights at the Murray Hill garages, police strikes, student strikes and occupations.

The most significant political event was the April 29 election, in which the liberal-separatist Parti Québécois of René Lévesque won one quarter of the popular vote and a tenth of the National Assembly’s seats. But that had been an electoral battle, fought in the ballot box. The streets have been quiet, relatively. The largest demonstration this spring in eastern Canada had been in Toronto at the American consulate after the invasion of Cambodia, and nothing approaching it occurred in Montreal.

Much of the organized left was in disarray, the rest of it was either working in the Parti Québécois or working with citizens’ committees. The rise of the citizens’ committees, which reflected the left’s shedding its student image and working in clinics and with labor unions reflected a very peaceful form of political activity.

Quebec’s novice Liberal premier, Robert Bourassa, hopped down to the U.S. to make his first major plea for American investment and for loans—a reflection of his assessment that things were cool and that investors would be more prepared to shell out in the apparent climate of stability in the province.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Trudeau delivered a glowing Throne speech at the opening of parliament, expressing his confidence in the state of Canadian confederation.

Parliament was gearing for its first major debate on the most immediate critical issue—pollution.

Then, the whole balloon began to burst.

In the early morning of Monday, October 5, James Cross was kidnapped, whisked away from his home on wealthy Redpath Crescent by four men in a cab. Hours later, the police announced that it had received, via a popular French radio station, a communique from a group that claimed to be a cell of the FLQ, and that James Cross would only be released if the government released 23 men jailed for terrorist and other activities, read the FLQ’s manifesto on the crown’s tele-

vision network, delivered \$500,000 in gold bars, released the identification of an informer who had turned some previous FLQ men in, and rehired the Lapalme postal delivery men whom the government fired for striking.

The government, in a series of statements that culminated the following Saturday with the televised speech of Quebec’s Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette, said “no”.

Within half an hour of Choquette’s speech (too soon for it to be a response to his speech), Pierre Laporte, the Labor Minister of the Quebec Government, and Bourassa’s number two man, if not the strongman of the Liberal government, was kidnapped by four other men outside his home in suburban Montreal.

The confusion in government circles in Ottawa and Quebec City following this resulted on Thursday, Oct. 15, in the entry into Montreal of 7,500 federal troops armed to the teeth, reportedly to “aid the police” by guarding principal buildings and people. The troops were later called into Ottawa’s exclusive Rockcliffe Park section to guard members of parliament and cabinet ministers.

On Oct. 16, at 4 o’clock in the morning the Trudeau government invoked the War Measures Act, the most powerful document at its disposal, giving it next to dictatorial powers.

On Saturday night, following a curious set of events no one has yet been able to explain, the body of Pierre Laporte was found by the police in the trunk of a car near the St. Hubert air force base in suburban Montreal.

A nation’s hysteria is unleashed.

Suddenly we are back where we were five years ago. A cold civil war is being fought along national and linguistic grounds. The country is polarized, but not on social issues, on issues of language and race.

The political life of this country is never going to be the same. Quebec is never going to be the same.

What happened to so disturb the calm of a listless October and so hurl a nation into a tortured vortex of political explosions, so violent a shift of the forces in this country, so sudden an alteration of the stakes of the political game? Who wins, who loses?

What happened between October 5, and today?

Who was making what decisions?

What were their strategies?

What may be the fruits of their strategies?

Was it a hunt for kidnappers and terrorists, a hunt that went wild, or were there more basic, long-term motives that directed the men in power over the first four weeks?

With an urgency that cannot be underestimated, we must begin to piece together the beginnings of answers to these questions.



Photo: Dave Clark





Photo: Dave Clark

## The plot

Of all the strange answers that have blown in the October wind, none has been stranger than the coup d'état that never took place. This supposed plot—or these plots, for the exact details depend on which government spokesman you happen to be listening to—has been referred to again and again since October 16, and it is worth examining closely.

The most recent version of the conspiracy theory is that of Defence Minister Donald MacDonald.

According to MacDonald, we are on a "revolutionary timetable", and the kidnappings are part of a "well-known revolutionary formula." In a CTV interview, October 25 he said that "on the whole, you had a pattern of incidents here which, given the revolutionary ideology we're talking about, in other situations and in other countries has escalated itself up into a state of disorder in which it will be virtually impossible to carry on the normal processes of government and which would provide, if you like, a situation ripe for revolutionary action."

Another important characteristic of the FLQ is "the fact that they're not organized. If in fact there had been a highly structured organization it would have been even easier for the police to break."

On October 15, however, Montreal police chief Marcel St-Aubin, said he was having difficulty investigating the FLQ because of "the internal organization of the movement, as it is divided into numerous small cells." It was St-Aubin's statement, along with covering letters from Mayor Drapeau and Premier Bourassa, that was used in the House of Commons the next day to justify the invocation of the War Measures Act.

According to Nick Auf der Maur, a CBC Montreal broadcaster and member of the Last Post editorial co-operative who was arrested under the Act and spent three days inside Quebec Provincial Police cells, the police in their questioning appeared to believe that every demonstration, bombing, and strike that had happened in Quebec in the last two years was part of the conspiracy. He says they see the FLQ as being organized along the lines of the Mafia, and they believe that if they could only find Comrade Big the game would be up.

St-Aubin said the kidnappings are "only the beginning" of "seditious and insurrectional activities." But Bourassa the next day said the FLQ had reached the "final stage" of its plan. The first three stages of the plan had already been carried out: violent demonstrations, bombings, and spectacular kidnappings, in that order. "The fourth step—the most important—is selective assassinations." The government had "every reason to believe" the FLQ was now prepared to carry these out. He added that "already" political leaders had received assassination threats.

There were hints at more than this. Federal Justice Minister John Turner said October 21 that "it might not ever be possible to disclose to the public the information on which the government made its decision."

Prime Minister Trudeau, however, said in the House October 26 that "the facts on which we did act are known to the people of Canada and indeed to this House." When Opposition Leader Stanfield immediately pointed out the apparent discrepancy between Trudeau's statement and Turner's, the Prime Minister said there was in fact no discrepancy. There may be information, he said, that the public doesn't know. But that is irrelevant, since the **known** information was what the government had acted upon.

Perhaps the fullest exposition of the conspiracy theory came from Jean Marchand, once a prominent Quebec labor leader, and today not only the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion in the Trudeau Cabinet, but also the man charged with keeping an eye on his five million restless countrymen who live in Canada's second-largest province.

"Those who are well-protected behind the Rockies or even in the centre of Toronto don't know what is happening in Quebec right now," declared the Quebec expert in the House of Commons a few hours after the War Measures Act had been signed. There were conspirators who had "infiltrated all the vital places of the province of Quebec, in all the key posts

where important decisions are taken." There were at least two tons of dynamite, detonators and electric circuits for setting off bombs, thousands of rifles and machine guns, bombs. "For whoever knows the FLQ right now," said the shuddering expert, "whoever knows this organization well cannot do otherwise than recognize that the provincial state of Quebec and the federal state are really in danger in Canada."

As the startled members of the House of Commons soaked this up Marchand perorated: "If we had not acted today, and if, in a month or a year separation had come about, I know very well what would have been said in this House: 'What sort of government is this? You had all that information in your hands and you could have used emergency powers and you did not do it. It's a government of incompetent people.'"

Just to make sure that the people who lived behind the Rockies, well-protected from the fanatics of French Canada knew what was going on, Marchand re-stated and even elaborated his claims on a British Columbia hot-line show a week after the government had struck. He had a new sensation to offer: the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), the main opposition party in Montreal's civic election, only days away, was a front for the FLQ, (whose membership had now shrunk to "between 1,000 and 3,000"). There were to be explosions, more kidnappings, perhaps assassinations on election day. Anarchy was then to spread through the province, and after the province the nation. Thrones were to topple as the conspiracy leap-frogged across the continent.

In the end, of course, none of this happened. And perhaps more surprisingly, remarkably few conspirators were turned up by police. Even with the awesome powers of the War Measures Act, with its license to search, seize and arrest on no stronger grounds than mere suspicion, and with so many raids that, after 2,000, even the most conscientious reporters lost count, the police could come up with fewer than 400 captives. And of those, they could hold onto only 150 as October closed.

Is it these 150 people then who have placed the established order in Canada in grave danger? If so, they must indeed be supermen. And the police do not appear to be trying very hard to find out. According to Auf der Maur, Robert Lemieux, the lawyer who had acted as negotiator for the FLQ, was questioned for a total of two minutes during the first eight days of his imprisonment. Pierre Vallières, a leader of the 1966 FLQ, was also questioned for two minutes in these eight days. Charles Gagnon, another leader of the 1966 FLQ, was not questioned at all.

On one occasion, Prime Minister Trudeau observed to a bemused House that Kerensky too had been "pooh-poohing the possibility of an insurrection."

Mr. Trudeau is wrong; Kerensky knew very well that there was going to be an insurrection, and with good reason. For to state the parallel is to see its absurdity. Was Montreal on October 16 Petrograd, where in the Putilov plant 40,000 workers were prepared to go out into the streets, and the Grenade works had its entire work force mobilized in the Red Guards? Or was it Moscow, brought to its knees during the final weeks of the old order by widespread strikes?

Still the government now chose to spread scare stories about a sudden revolutionary upheaval, a notion it had repeatedly dismissed in the past. A year ago, Montreal's Drapeau administration journeyed to Ottawa for the government's investigation into the activities of the Company of Young Canadians. Piles of captured documents were produced to demonstrate that a far-ranging conspiracy was on the move. It was repeatedly noted at the time that, while the documents showed lots of smoke, it was difficult to find any fire. Beyond the well-known fact that FLQ cells existed, and might carry out isolated, anarchistic acts, the rest was vapor. The Drapeau administration's evidence was laughed out of town.

Two previous, abortive attempts (according to the police) at kidnapping people in high places, including the American consul-general in Montreal, had been taken with equanimity. And so, indeed, had the kidnapping of James Cross: there had been no indication in the first week of the crisis that upholders of the status quo had better nerve themselves for the crunch.

Nor did even the second kidnapping, that of Pierre Laporte, bring about sudden fears of insurrection. Why then did the government choose to unleash the vast conspiracy theory on

October 16? Why did it give credence to a picture of FLQ that could not be believed by anyone who had any knowledge of the situation in Quebec, that it could not have believed itself, but that might conceivably be widely believed in English Canada since the government and the police are the only sources of information?

One clue comes from Jean Marchand's Vancouver interview, for it contains more than the accusations that made headlines (reaction to his statement about FRAP was so severe that Prime Minister Trudeau had to dissociate himself from it the next day, and Marchand himself had to get off). Marchand made some other statements in that interview that, in the long term, may be a lot more significant. He averred that there are between 1,000 and 3,000 members of FLQ, Marchand says:

"Now all members of the FLQ are not terrorists. But there are enough to create a lot of trouble and a lot of killing. This is what we are trying to prevent."

Not all FLQ members are terrorists!

Then, what are they?

Who is the FLQ?

Or more to the point: **Who isn't?**

If not all members of the FLQ are carrying arms, planning assassinations and stashing bombs, what are they doing? Organizing in the labor unions, perhaps. Organizing demonstrations, or working with FRAP and the Parti Québécois.

Maybe if you're a leftist or a Péquiste, you're in effect part of the net. The net is suddenly a little wider, and out for more fish. We have been led to believe from the impression that the government was just hunting two or three kidnapping cells.

Is Marchand saying that the FLQ is everyone who is working for a socialist or independent Quebec?

Let's follow more of Marchand's interesting analysis.

He says: "How in a society like ours can such a movement like the FLQ flourish. You knew a year ago, two years ago or even five years ago that there were FLQ members. But long as they do not recourse to violence, under which can you do anything?"

None, Mr. Marchand. If they do not resort to violence they are not violating the Criminal Code. But perhaps exactly what Marchand is saying is that we need laws by which the government can arrest and prosecute those that follow their political aims even by peaceful means. This seems incredible, so let's follow what he said further:

He makes the point that "it is not the individual who we are worried about now. It's this vast organization supported by other bona fide organizations who are supporting, indirectly at least, the FLQ."

Mr. Marchand is not worried about the kidnappers; he seems to be saying, but about the people who "do not resort to violence." People—it's now a "vast organization"—who are supported by bona fide groups.

What are these people doing? Where are they?

Marchand refers to "many important institutions in Quebec that have been 'infiltrated' by this strange breed of non-violent FLQers."

If there are so many people, in so many areas and institutions, it's going to be pretty hard to ferret them out. Especially if they lack the decency to commit a criminal act to facilitate the government's job of destroying them.

And so we come to the most distressing statement of all and Marchand states the aims of the government bluntly.

"Well, if it had been an isolated case of kidnapping I do think we would have been justified in invoking the War Measures Act because there the Criminal Code would have been enough to try and get those men and punish them. But this is a whole organization and we have no instrument, no instrument to get those people and question them."

Let's summarize the implications of Marchand's logic.

There is a vast conspiracy of people numbering from 1,000 to 3,000.

They are not all terrorists, in fact some hold highly respectable and critical positions, and some have the protection of other bona fide groups.

They must be rooted out.

The Criminal Code permits us to root out kidnappers and killers, but not people who commit no crimes.

Therefore we need an "instrument" by which we can get after these people who commit no crimes, and it's not simply a question of kidnappers.

Is the Trudeau government seeking a circumvention of laws of this country in order to launch a hunt that extends to the highest reaches of Quebec, into the most respectable bona fide groups, in order to ferret out these dangerous people?

Whom is the Trudeau government after?

## The politics

The apprehended insurrection-coup-plot-uprising volt grows more ridiculous every day, and it is evident that it does so from statements made even by federal ministers. Certainly, as far as armed uprisings of one to three thousand people are concerned, the government never believed its own case. It allowed and encouraged the story to spread in order to use it as currency to time and public support to keep the War Measures Act



is possible to piece together with some certainty that Trudeau, on the eve of implementing the emergency powers, was losing control of the situation in Quebec, of French public opinion, to the nationalists and moderate separatists. The Prime Minister had grounds for such fears. Contrary to the early statements by both federal and provincial spokesmen, a significant portion of the Quebec population had not recoiled in revulsion at the FLQ's action. Predictably radical labor organizations, and a startling percentage of average citizens were reacting favorably to the content of the FLQ's political analysis, if not to their *modus operandi*. Even while most of the sympathetic repudiated the acts themselves, the FLQ's highwayman élan and the governments' unresponsive left many Québécois inwardly pleased. That much can be established. Whether Trudeau thought the strange events in Quebec were bringing the province as close as it had ever come to separating, however, can only be speculated right now.

What is very probable is that, as hints in the Marchand interview might suggest, Trudeau at least saw the opportunity to move decisively against the separatist-nationalist tide in Quebec and set it back for years, if not stem it forever.

One of the most significant statements of the motives of the Trudeau government, and the steps by which it arrived at making the drastic move on October 16, is to be found in a column by Toronto Star Ottawa editor Anthony Westell appearing the day after the Act was invoked. Westell, a long-time Ottawa columnist formerly with the Globe and Mail, has extremely good sources inside the Liberal cabinet, and, along with Toronto Star editor Peter Newman, is one of the three or four most important Liberal Party intimates in the national press gallery.

Writing under the heading "The Agony Behind Trudeau's Decision", Westell examined the basic premises on which Trudeau approaches the current situation in Quebec:

"The answer begins with Trudeau's analysis of the rise of separatism in the past five years. The decline and fall of the sage Liberal government, he believes, left a power vacuum which Union Nationale premier Daniel Johnson did not fill because he never took a firm position for federalism. René Lévesque left the Liberals to lead the Parti Québécois into the bid, and win almost a quarter of the votes in the election of this year."

The Trudeau administration's entire strategy toward Quebec is to make sure that the vacuum of social contradictions and frustrations is never left as open territory to the separatists, and particularly to René Lévesque. The Trudeau government fell over backwards pumping money and organizational talent into the election campaign of new Liberal leader Robert Bourassa, scarcely concealing the influx of every-thing from top advisers to Trudeau's personal hairdresser to Bourassa's side. The province was saturated with a well-oiled campaign that reeked of money, and no one had any

doubts that much, if not most of it, came from the federal Liberals.

When the FLQ struck, Westell reports, "Trudeau's instinct was to refuse negotiations or concessions to the terrorists. Nor were there any doves in the federal cabinet."

But he stresses that "...Trudeau grew increasingly concerned at the threat to Bourassa's fledgling and inexperienced government posed by the new terrorism."

Initially, the threat came from one specific source—the vacillation of the Quebec cabinet in the face of Laporte's kidnapping five days after Cross's abduction.

Trudeau's strategy of strength depended on Bourassa emerging as the strongman, the pillar of fortitude around which Quebec could rally, the dam that could keep the flood-tides of nationalist and separatist feeling from moving into that dangerous political vacuum of which Westell spoke.

"But with the kidnapping of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte, the crisis changed and deepened. It became at once a terrible question striking deep into the hearts and consciences of Bourassa's own ministers. Many Quebec Liberals owe more friendship to Laporte than to Bourassa, a relative newcomer. In the cabinet pressing around the young minister at the moment of crisis, there were agonized men who wanted nothing more than to save their colleague."

"The pressure on Bourassa was enormous. The danger last weekend that he would cave in, opening a disastrous new power vacuum, seemed terribly real."

It has been reliably reported by several journalists, and Westell carries the information, that Trudeau spent hours on the phone at his Harrington Lake summer home encouraging the premier to hold fast.

Marc Lalonde, one of Trudeau's top advisors, is believed to have rushed to Quebec City to buttress the premier at this juncture, when, according to several reports, Bourassa's cabinet was on the verge of crumbling.

The leadership of the crisis, which had appeared to come largely from Quebec with Trudeau in the background making sure things went as he wanted them to, suddenly began to revert to Ottawa.

Here the crux of the entire crisis developed.

It centres around the way public opinion in Quebec was reacting to the kidnapping. Trudeau made at least one tactical error, and one massive political blunder. Those mistakes proved to be the factors destroying his strategy.

Pierre Desrosiers suggests in the weekly Montreal paper Québec-Press an interpretation that has also been voiced by Parti Québécois economic expert Jacques Parizeau, and backed up by some reporters in Ottawa. It is this:

Trudeau's initial tactic had been to remain firm, in an effort to force the FLQ's hand. They might have killed Cross: Desrosiers and Parizeau suggest Trudeau was prepared to let that happen, betting public opinion would swing to him out of revulsion. But instead, the FLQ upped the ante. It kidnapped Pierre Laporte. Trudeau's tactic to back the FLQ into a corner had failed.

This unexpected response to Trudeau's immediate strategy, however, would only have been a temporary tactical setback, if Trudeau had not made one critical political error of judgement. He totally misread the climate of public opinion in Quebec.

Westell himself makes this point:

"Another minister feared that after the first shock and outrage at the kidnappings, Quebec opinion was being won around to the rationalization that while violence may be wrong, the terrorists were somehow glamorous patriots fighting a noble cause—the same sort of shift of opinion that happened after Charles de Gaulle's 'Vive le Québec Libre' speech in 1967.

"A backbencher close to Trudeau expressed much the same fear more precisely," Westell states, "when he said that the Quebec media—television, radio, newspapers—were heavily infiltrated by FLQ propagandists and suggested drastic action would be necessary to eventually deal with the problem." By "FLQ propagandists", of course, the backbencher meant journalists who were expressing the sympathy felt by many in Quebec for the goals and principles expressed in the FLQ manifesto.

"A Montreal MP, on the other hand," Westell continues, "told the Liberal caucus Wednesday that the FLQ was appealing dangerously well to real grievances among French Canadians, and that it would not stand for repression."

We have confirmed that this "Montreal MP" was Marcel Prud'homme, who was taken aback when he took a poll in his constituency and found that the vast majority of the young supported what the FLQ did, and that the older constituents violently condemned the tactic but frequently expressed some sympathy for the content of the manifesto. Prud'homme communicated these facts to an emergency caucus meeting.

Trudeau himself let slip in the Commons a thought that had been more and more in his mind by now: the media were playing into the hands of the FLQ by giving them too much publicity.

The government was so frazzled by this PR problem that, while the cabinet was planning the emergency regulations, it actually considered press censorship, of which Trudeau was the leading advocate.

Trudeau's aides had initially tried to suppress the publica-

tion of the FLQ manifesto in the Quebec papers, one of them arguing for an hour with the editor of the National Union paper Montréal Matin, in vain, against running the text.

"As the week wore on," Westell reported in the Toronto Star, "the question as to how to quiet the Quebec media came more frequently into conversations around the government."

"This was because the critical battle was seen as the struggle for public opinion. Would Quebecers rally to law, order and a strong Bourassa government, or drift towards a new 'moderate' position?"

Others arguing in support of this thesis report that Trudeau, when he was unable to prevent the spread of the manifesto in the Quebec press, himself ordered the CBC's French network to broadcast the manifesto, as the FLQ had demanded. They argue that this was a sign of Trudeau's overconfidence that the broadcasting of the manifesto would actually cause Québécois to react against its 'extreme' language.

In any event, on October 8, the manifesto was broadcast over the CBC's French network in Quebec, as demanded by the FLQ, and subsequently published in most of the province's major commercial newspapers. The document, broadly expressing many of Quebec's long-standing grievances, states that the FLQ is a "response to aggression", emphasizes the foreign exploitation of labor and resources, and voices the need for a mass-based revolutionary upheaval. Its spirit was one with which many Québécois found they could identify, and their clearly established failure to retreat in horror provided the federal government with its greatest shock.

FRAP, Montreal's union-and-citizen-based civic opposition movement, publicly endorsed the objectives of the manifesto, while rejecting the FLQ's tactics. It added that it could not condemn the violence of the FLQ without condemning the violence of the system, and its statement enumerated a long list of labor and political conflicts. It also noted that the FLQ's terrorism is directed not against wage workers but against the violence of the establishment. However, FRAP said it opted to fight with democratic means.

The executive committee of the Laurentian and Montreal Councils of the Confederation of National Trade Unions expressed their unequivocal support of the manifesto.

Montreal Council president Michel Chartrand (now in jail) said the authorities were getting extremely agitated by the possible death of two men but did not seem to be able to summon the same anxiety for thousands of people whose lives were potentially threatened by a walkout of medical specialists.

Later he said "who's scared of the FLQ? Are the workers terrorized by the FLQ? Are the students terrorized by the FLQ? The only people who are afraid of the FLQ are those who should be scared—the power elite. So who says the FLQ is terrorizing the population?"

The union-financed weekly Québec-Press editorialized that the FLQ's analysis was "exact", and that the horror of an armed, clandestine movement should be counterpointed to the horror of the better-armed, equally clandestine established authority.

A survey of opinions on "hot-line" programs on popular French stations in Montreal showed that the vast majority of callers condemned the actual acts of the FLQ, but over 50 per cent supported the spirit of the manifesto.

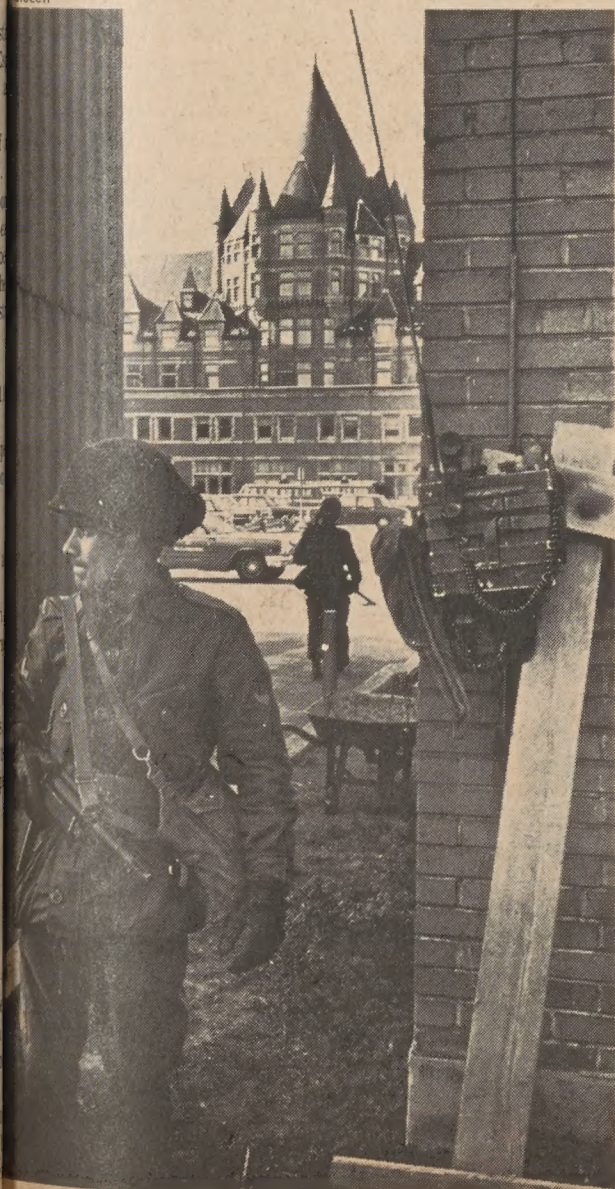
A CBC interviewer took a survey in front of a French Catholic church after 11 o'clock mass on Sunday, and found that condemnation of the acts was almost universal, but that half the people he talked to expressed sympathy for the things said in the FLQ manifesto.

Student newspapers came out in favor of the FLQ, some with grave reservations about the tactics, others not. At l'Université du Québec, virtually the entire student body went on strike in support of the FLQ's aims. About 30 per cent of the faculty walked out too. At l'Université de Montréal, 1,500 students struck and said they would go into the community to muster backing for the FLQ's goals. Several junior colleges and even some high schools closed down.

Only hours before the War Measures Act was brought in, with federal troops already patrolling Montreal's streets, about 3,000 students rallied at the Paul Sauvé Arena to hear Michel Chartrand, Pierre Vallières, Charles Gagnon, and the undisputed hero of the day, Robert Lemieux. Fists raised, they chanted "FLQ... FLQ!", just as Ottawa was preparing to make their cry illegal.

Opposition was also coming from other, more unexpected sources. On Wednesday, October 14, a group of French-Canadian moderates, led by René Lévesque and Claude Ryan (whom no one had ever imagined as political allies) issued an attack on Trudeau's statements, lambasted the premier of Ontario, John Roberts, for shooting his mouth off, and urged the government to release the 23 prisoners the FLQ wanted transported to Cuba or Algeria. The group criticized "certain outside attitudes... which add to an atmosphere that has already taken on military overtones—(a situation) which can be blamed on Ottawa."

It is a matter of general agreement among the Ottawa press corps that it was this statement that tipped the balance. Trudeau realized he was losing ground in Quebec, that a flood-tide of opposition to Ottawa was rising. With the Bourassa government shaking in the corner, a new alliance of nationalists and liberals and separatists threatened to fill the vacuum.





In a Calgary speech on October 20, Liberal MP Patrick Mahoney said that the statement by ten Quebec leaders (the Ryan-Lévesque statement) urging the exchange of 23 prisoners for the kidnap victims prompted the government to invoke the War Measures Act because these statements tended “to give leadership in the direction of eroding the will to resist FLQ demands.”

Anthony Westell confirmed the motivation:

“Only a few weeks before, Lévesque’s separatists had been extremists on the Quebec spectrum. With the emergence of terrorism as the new extreme, the perspective changed. Suddenly Lévesque was appearing with Montreal editor Claude Ryan, a nationalist, on a platform urging peace with the FLQ—a new, moderate centre, as it appeared to some.

“For Trudeau, the moment for decisive action to stop the drift in opinion was rapidly approaching.”

In a democratic society, drifts of opinions are supposed to be countered by other opinions. Opinions are legal. But the opinions of Québécois who did not support the FLQ but shared some of the views the FLQ and the left have been voicing for years were apparently not to be tolerated.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau had to suspend democracy. He could not triumph in Quebec by moral leadership or by the reason of his position. He had to suspend the laws of the country and the constitutional rights of citizens to combat a drift in opinion.

On Thursday, October 15, 7,500 federal troops moved into Montreal.

At four in the morning of the next day, the War Measures Act was invoked.

## The purpose

In the last week, the Trudeau government has written a new, and still more implausible chapter into this already strange history.

This is the affair of the provisional government.

Rumors that some prominent French Canadians had planned to set up such a government just before the passage of the War Measures Act had been circulating in Montreal police circles for a week, but there was no public mention of it until Sunday, October 25. Mayor Jean Drapeau, who has just swept into a fifth term as Mayor with control of all 52 City Council seats, referred vaguely to the danger from a “provisional committee” that had planned to seize state power in Quebec.

The next day, the Toronto Star published a story saying the Trudeau government had implemented the War Measures Act because it was convinced “a plan existed to replace the Quebec government of Premier Robert Bourassa.”

The story quoted “top level sources” saying “. . . a group of influential Quebecers had set out to see whether they might supplant the legitimately elected provincial government with what they conceived as an interim administration having enough moral authority to restore public order.”

The Star credited the story only “from our Ottawa bureau”; there was no byline. However, the next day Toronto Telegram columnist Douglas Fisher wrote that “both the run of rumour among reporters and the internal evidence of the style and material in the story suggest that it was really the work of Peter Newman, now editor-in-chief of the Toronto Daily Star.” Other sources confirm that Newman, a major Liberal Party confidant, was in fact the author of the story.

Drapeau’s story now had to be taken more seriously. In an interview with an American reporter the same day, the mayor said “conversations had been held” by influential Quebecers of “good faith” to set up a regime. Although these men of good faith did not intend to open the door to the FLQ, Drapeau said, they would be used by the FLQ.

Predictably, Robert Stanfield was on his feet in the Commons the next afternoon asking the Prime Minister to account for the reports. Was this part of the unrevealed information that had led the government to invoke the War Measures Act? The Prime Minister said no. But he also refused to repudiate the rumors unequivocally, saying it was not the government’s “habit to deny or confirm such reports.”

Other journalists report that Newman not only went to “top-level sources”, he went to the top source of them all, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and that the basic outline of the story, at least, came from him. Other cabinet ministers and high civil servants were only too happy to confirm the story to their favorite reporters. There appears to be little doubt that the story got out not only with the Liberal government’s knowledge, but with its active encouragement.

Newman’s story did not name names of people involved in the supposed provisional government plot, but it was clear he was implicating the “influential Quebecers” who had signed the statement of October 14 calling for an exchange with the FLQ. Claude Ryan and René Lévesque both denied the report Wednesday morning, Ryan in an editorial in *Le Devoir*, Lévesque in his column in *Le Journal de Montréal*.

Ryan strongly denounced the government for playing the game of the deliberate leak. “This is so gross,” he said, “that the more one tries to untangle it, the more it appears ridiculous and stupid. I was going to write: malicious. I am not sure of that. Mr. Trudeau and his friends are out to get certain dissidents: I nevertheless don’t believe them capable of such

baseness. I would rather believe that they were carried away by panic.”

The next day, a far more plausible version of what had happened appeared in several newspapers, and has been confirmed by the Last Post’s own sources. The alleged plot to overthrow the Bourassa government was in fact, a plot to save that government.

Just before the passage of the War Measures Act, there was widespread concern in Quebec about the position of the Quebec government. All the direction in dealing with the Cross-Laporte kidnappings was coming from Ottawa, which was imposing a hard line in refusing to negotiate with the FLQ.

In addition, Bourassa was facing extreme pressure from the Drapeau-Saulnier administration in Montreal. Most of the intelligence upon which government decisions were based was provided by the Montreal police force and their go-between, Michel Coté, the city’s chief legal counsel. Earlier in the week, the Montreal police had arrested lawyer Robert Lemieux and seized all his confidential legal documents, in defiance of the provincial government. Montreal police were operating independently of the provincial government, while the Drapeau équipe consulted directly with Ottawa.

Bourassa was left with the feeling that he had virtually no control over Quebec’s most powerful police force, while being faced with a Trudeau-Drapeau axis that was calling all the shots.

Within Bourassa’s own cabinet, there was considerable support for the idea of making a deal to save Laporte, but, reports Dominique Clift in *The Montreal Star*, most of the political heavyweights—Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette, Education Minister Guy Saint-Pierre, Finance Minister Raymond Garneau, and Health Minister Claude Castonguay—supported the hard line. Choquette even placed his resignation on the table as a gesture of determination, Clift says.

Bourassa, who privately shared the doubts about the hard line and the concern about the position of his government, was caught in the middle. This was the reason for his ambiguous public statements during the crisis, carefully designed to pacify both the hard-liners and those who wanted to negotiate.

It was in this context that proposals were made that Bourassa open his cabinet to include a broad spectrum of Quebec leaders, to enable it to deal more credibly and effectively both with the FLQ and with Ottawa. Claude Ryan broached the idea to many people who, along with him, might be included in such a cabinet.

Clift concludes that treating the suggestion as a plot to overthrow the government “was in fact a smearing and dishonest representation of Ryan’s proposal which had nothing subversive in it but had been naively inspired by vanity and misplaced sense of his own political importance.”

The idea of opening his cabinet came up in one conversation between Bourassa and a friend after troops had already entered Montreal and just hours before the passage of the War Measures Act. “I thought of that,” Bourassa said, “but it was too late.”

What concerned Ottawa when it heard about the proposal, however, was that it might indeed have worked, that such a Quebec government might have been able to deal firmly with Ottawa and take its own course in dealing with the FLQ. There was nothing unconstitutional about the proposal, but it was one more indication of the degree to which Ottawa was losing control over opinion in Quebec. Like Lyndon Johnson, faced with the prospect of a democratic, left-liberal government in Santo Domingo, Pierre Elliott Trudeau moved in.

LBJ had his lists of “known Communists” to justify the invasion. But the New York Times found that several of the “known Communists” were in fact dead, others were out of the country, still others were in jail.

Trudeau’s revelations of conspiracies are of the same order. He will no doubt come up with documents to “prove” his charges: such documents have been popping up for years. On October 29, the Toronto Telegram came up with an Alice-in-Wonderland report of terrorist plots to assassinate five hundred prominent Quebecers; these reports will recur.

But the real coup d’état this October was carried out by Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who with one stroke effected a vast shift of political power. Trudeau “seized the opportunity of the Cross-Laporte kidnappings,” says Parti Québécois economist Jacques Parizeau, to carry out “the inevitable confrontation which had to come sooner or later between Ottawa and Quebec.” He set back political dialogue in this country ten years, even beyond the stage of “what does Quebec want?” to “what kind of people are we dealing with?”

Initially, Trudeau attempted a policy which depended on broad support in Quebec. The policy failed because that support did not exist. The result was a new policy—a policy of making a virtual desert of all opposition in Quebec, radical, liberal, nationalist, even, in some cases, conservative. The instrument of that policy was the War Measures Act.

This policy too depends on public support, this time the blind, uninformed support of English Canadians. It cannot succeed without their support. They are being used as pawns in a cynical and destructive game.

English Canadians must decide whether they are willing to be used in that way.

# LAST POST

a radical  
Canadian  
newsmagazine

*Articles like the one in this paper appear in every issue of Last Post magazine; created to dig out and publish facts which are omitted, ignored or obscured by the commercial press.*

## COMING in the next LAST POST

*an expanded crisis report including:*

- \* the roots of conflict in Quebec
- \* FRAP and the democratic alternative
- \* tales of a prisoner of war
- \* behind the Drapeau mask
- \* tensions in the media
- \* repercussions for the Left
- \* the story of Pierre Vallières

### PLUS

The Nova Scotia Fishermen Strike: six months of struggle

ON SALE NOVEMBER 9

☐ I can’t find the *Last Post* anywhere! I enclose 65 cents (incl. postage & exchange) for the latest issue.

☐ I enclose \$4 for a 1-year (8-issue) subscription. (Institutional rate: \$7.)

☐ I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ gift subscription(s)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City (give zone): \_\_\_\_\_

Send with cheque or money order to

**THE LAST POST, P.O. Box 98, Station G, Montreal 130, Que.**



# campus calendar

## SOCIAL

- FRIDAY AFTERNOON SOCIAL  
(See ad today's paper)

## STUDENT CINEMA

- COMING ATTRACTIONS
  - "1984"
  - "DR. FAUSTUS"
  - "OTHELLO"
  - "HEAD"
  - "WARRENDAL"
  - "BULLET"
  - "ZORBA THE GREEK"

## ART GALLERY

- "SELECTIONS FROM THE CIL COLLECTION"
- On display until Nov. 13

WATCH THIS CORNER EVERY TUESDAY AND THURSDAY FOR THE WEEK'S ACTIVITIES

Dr. P. J. Gaudet  
Dr. D. G. Kot

OPTOMETRISTS

Office Phone 439-2085

201 Strathcona Medical  
Dental Bldg.

8225 - 105th STREET  
Edmonton, Alberta

FRIDAY  
13th  
IS  
COMING  
(BACUS)

EICO  
Stereo  
Component  
System Kits

EICO Transistor Ignition Kits  
25% gas saving is only one of many advantages

MUSI-CUBES

The New Mod Speakers \$63.50 per pr.

"ELECTRONIC-BUG" HOUSE

10988 - 124 ST. Ph. 454-9518  
Open Thurs. Nights 'til 9 p.m. and all day Sat.

# SCHLUMBERGER OF CANADA

A Division of SCHLUMBERGER (CANADA) LIMITED

Schlumberger representatives will be on campus  
November 9 and 10 to conduct interviews of:

—Students graduating in ELECTRICAL  
ENGINEERING, MECHANICAL  
ENGINEERING, or ENGINEERING  
PHYSICS for field work in  
Western Canada.

—Third year students for summer  
training leading to full time  
employment in 1972.

Contact your student Career Planning Office for  
details.



## HAND TAILORED LEATHER

COATS DRESSES  
JACKETS SHIRTS  
VESTS TUNICS  
PANTS ACCESSORIES  
SKIRTS ETC.

- Rough-Out Suede
- Top-Grade Grain Leathers
- Finest Imported Cabrettas
- Over 40 Colors In Stock

BUY OFF THE RACK OR TAKE ADVANTAGE OF  
OUR COMPLETE CUSTOM TAILORING SERVICE

"The Finest and Most Complete Leather Specialty Shop"

ALBERTA GLOVE CO. LTD.

10646-101 Street

422-0625

## CHRISTMAS IN HAWAII

with Roland Sloan, U of A

\$375.—

total tour cost includes

- Direct return jet travel
- Traditional Lei Greeting
- Circle Island Tour
- Pearl Harbor Cruise
- 1st class hotel accommodations
- Twilight Dinner Cruise
- Aloha Parties
- and much, much more.

for further information contact

HOLIDAY TRAVEL

10018 - 102 St. 424-8251

ONE PERFORMANCE ONLY

# TROXKA

APPEARING WITH



... IN CONCERT  
**Dave Wright**  
... A TROUBADOR ... A MINSTREL

ALSO FEATURING **GUERRILLA THEATRE** LIVE CONTEMPORARY THEATRE  
KINSMEN FIELDHOUSE SAT. NOV. 14 TICKETS: ADVANCE 3.00 AT THE DOOR 4.00  
KELLY DEYONG SOUND & SEATING



TEXACO  
EXPLORATION  
COMPANY

CALGARY

ALBERTA

FOR AN INTERESTING CAREER IN THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY  
SEE OUR REPRESENTATIVES WHO WILL VISIT THE CAMPUS ON

NOVEMBER 12-13, 1970

### GEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

Geology, Geological Engineering

### PETROLEUM ENGINEERING

Mech., Chem., Geol. Engineering

### GEOPHYSICAL EXPLORATION

Geophysics, Geol. Eng., Physics

### LAND

Law, Commerce, Business Administration

For further information and appointment please contact the  
Placement Office



# The trickle down your armpits.

Some things make us nervous.

Some things turn us into a kind of stranger to ourselves. The old dryness of the mouth sets in. The sweat starts down.

How about those job interviews, where all of a sudden you've got to stand out very clearly from the herd? Inside half an hour you've got to establish yourself to a world you never made and may not even like.

Does the prospect make you just a little nervous? No? You're lucky.

Oh, it does? Join the club. It gets us all, even those over thirty.

You could write a book about being nervous about interviews. As a matter of fact, we have written a book. A little one: "How to separate

yourself from the herd". It's packed with practical tips on how to go to an interview *on your own terms*.

We wrote it because we've been there. Without any modesty whatsoever we can tell you we're a company whose very life depends on our skill at coming face-to-face with strangers.

Our little book is tucked into a bigger one: The Employment Opportunities Handbook, a kind of dictionary of the companies who are looking. This brand new handbook is yours for the asking at the placement office.

"How to separate yourself from the herd" won't work any magic between now and your first interview.

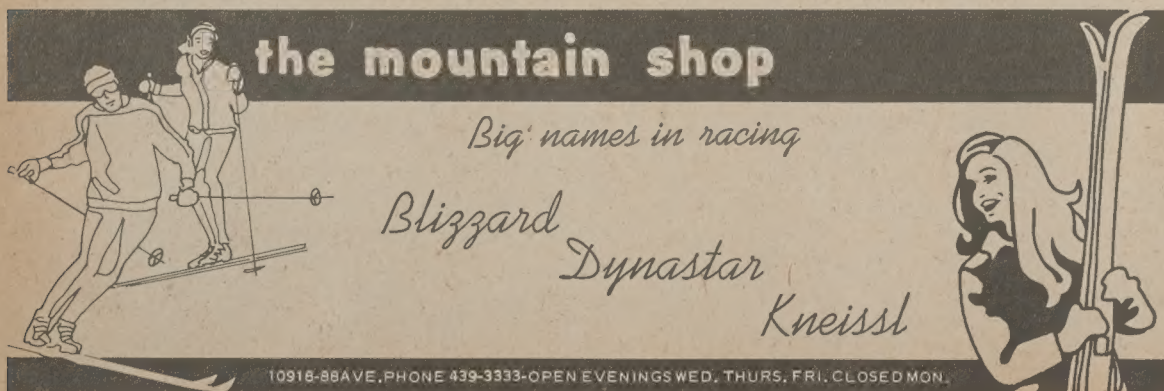
But it just might help.

**LONDON LIFE**  
Insurance Company, London, Canada

**the mountain shop**

*Big names in racing*

Blizzard  
Dynastar  
Kneissl



10918-88AVE, PHONE 439-3333-OPEN EVENINGS WED, THURS, FRI, CLOSED MON.

**Fall Dress  
SALE**

**1/3 OFF  
2 days left**

**Campus Squire**

11155-87 Avenue

ladies shoppe

439-3393